

AN
HISTORICAL
DISCOURSE

Concerning the Necessity

OF THE
MINISTERS INTENTION

In Administring the

SACRAMENTS.

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AMongst all the Opinions of the *Roman* Church, there is scarce any so strange, if we except their Doctrine of Transubstantiation, as that which they hold, concerning the Necessity of the Ministers Intention to make the Sacraments valid and effectual. This Doctrine is so absurd in it self, and is attended with such terrible Consequences in their Religion, that we might be afraid to attribute it to that Communion, if they had not so expressly declar'd themselves on that Point. And if all their Authors, who have considered the horrid consequences of this Opinion, had not made it appear, that the same are not capable to rescue them from an Error, so pregnant

in Absurdities. 'Tis for the interest of ^{the} Christian Religion, not to charge her with imposing upon her Professors such strange Opinions. It is the Interest of Protestants to make it appear, they have had all the reason of the World to reject so absurd a Doctrine, which the *Romanists* would have forc'd upon them under the Penalty of an *Anathema*. It is the Interest of *Roman* Catholicks, to consider into what confusion the blind Obedience they profess, for the pretended Infallibility of their Guides doth cast them. Indeed it seems as if God suffer'd them to be mistaken in such Points, where the absurdity is so very palpable, to the end the People in subjection to them, might the more easily disabuse themselves about the Priviledge of Infallibility which the *Roman* Church with so much confidence doth arrogate. That the Readers may reap this Fruit from the Examination I here undertake of the Article, I have prescrib'd to my self these Orders, which I intend closely to keep to. 1. I shall set down what the *Roman* Church at present believes concerning the necessity of the Ministers intention in order to the validity of the Sacraments. 2ly I shall make it appear, that Scripture doth not at all favour this Opinion of the *Romanists*. 3ly I shall make out, that Tradition is diametrically opposite to it. 4ly I shall shew, that all the Christians in the World that are not of the *Romish* Communion, are either wholly ignorant of this Article, or positively oppose it: and in so doing, I shall follow exactly the Method which *Vincentius de Lirinensis* hath set down for to confute any Error: *We must, saith he, follow the Universality, Antiquity, and consent of the Catholick and Apostolick Church.*

For what concerns the Belief of *Rome*, we may say with the Cardinal *Brancati*, That the Council of *Constance* assembled in 1415. hath defined the necessity of the Intention of the Minister of the Sacraments to make them effectual. But forasmuch as that Council gave a great Check to the Papal Power, we find the greater part of the *Romish* Divines rather refer themselves to the Definition made by Pope *Eugenius* the IV. after the Council of *Florence* in his Decree of Faith prescribed to the *Armenians*: *All the Sacraments, saith he, are performed by three things, by the things themselves as the matter, by the Words as the form, and by the Person of the Minister, who confers the Sacrament with intention to do what the Church doth.* *Leo* the X. has followed the steps of *Eugenius* the IV. in his Bull against *Luther* Art. 12. The Council of *Trent* hath authorized this Definition *Seff. 7. Can. 11. If any one say that at least the intention of doing that which the Church doth, is not requisite in the Minister's whilst they administer the Sacraments, let them be an Anathema.*

If we make a serious reflexion upon these Definitions of the *Roman* Church, it will plainly appear, that tho ordinarily they condemn the comical representation of the Sacraments; as for instance, if the Priest should celebrate the Sacrament in jest or mockery, yet they suppose this to be a true Celebration, notwithstanding that herein he hath acted contrary to the order and respect due to the Sacrament. Surely a man must be concluded out of his Wits to take this Profanation for a Sacrament; and yet the Divines of that Communion do at this day unanimously assert, that if a Priest pronounceth in the midst of a Market, the Words of the Sacrament,

ment, with intention to do what the Church doth, he transubstantiates all the Bread he sees, and makes a Sacrament. This is evidently deduced from their Hypothesis, as the most part of the latter Schoolmen do acknowledge. And tho they declare, That in such a case, the intention of the Priest is not right, yet they conclude, That if any one should have an intention to Consecrate the Body of Jesus Christ, to abuse it in some kind of Sorcery ; this undue intention would not hinder the perfection of the Sacrament, the abuse being posterior to the intention. This is the decision of *Binsfeld* in his *Theologia Pastorum de Sacrament.* Cap. 1. After so strange an Opinion, we may be the less astonished at the Office, which for many Ages has been celebrated in many Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, and was called the Feast of Fools ; I say that this was a particular Office, because *Durand* Bishop of *Mande* hath set down the Rites and manner of it in his *Divine Offices Lib. 7. c. 42.* *Eudes* Bishop of *Paris*, makes mention of it in one of his Epistles, published a while since. The thing is so strange, that it is hard to be believed, this was not a Religious Ceremony, but a real Profanation publicly practised, not only in *France* but also in *England*, where the publick Office of this Feast is upon record, as *Mr. Gregory* shews in a Treatise on that Subject. There is reason to bless God that this Office hath at last been abolished. But after all, the Eucharist thus celebrated, was notwithstanding to be lookt upon as a true Sacrament, if the Priest had the intention of doing what the Church does. If the Church of *Rome* were of another mind, it would be very surprising to see them seriously to make use of a Fable concerning *St. Athanasius*, when yet a Child, who having

ving been, as they say, chosen Bishop by other Children of his Age, did proceed to baptize them, which Baptism was judged to be valid, because he had the Intention of baptizing them. Now this being only Childrens Play, how comes it to pass, that they hold that *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* could authorize this Baptism? *Hermant* Canon of *Beauvais*, gives us the Ecclesiastical History of this ridiculous Fable. But he hath not cured the Romish Divines of their Folly, which makes them alledge the action of *Alexander*, as if he had reason to do what he did in authorizing by his approbation so visible a Profanation and Derision of a Sacrament of the Christian Church, upon the pretence that *St. Athanasius*, forsooth, had declared, that he had an Intention to do what the Church doth.

Life of S. A-
thanas. Tom.
I. p. 687.

2. It appears that they do not content themselves with that exterior attention, which is used in administering the Sacraments, and which may make one believe, that the action is done seriously. They believe with common consent, that attention may be wanting in a Priest; and common sense suggests, that tho' a man may seem attentive to what he is doing, yet he may be subject to distractions therein, especially when the action takes up some considerable time: Indeed no man believes the Sacrament to be invalid, tho' the Minister might suffer some Distraction in reciting the Prayers of the Liturgy. As to the inward Attention, that either respects the action one is about in celebrating the Sacrament; or else the nature of the Sacrament and its effects, which consists in pious Reflections; I own they require both these as a Duty of Piety, but they believe the first of these to be so little needful, that if a Priest

- who

Tolet. In-
struct. Sacerd.
Lib. 2. c. 9. §. 8.

who pronounces the words of Consecration, should forget that he has pronounced them, they pretend it is not necessary that he should pronounce them over again, upon this doubt, for which *Tolet* gives this conclusive reason; *Because, saith he, we utter many words by use and custome, which we don't remember, upon reflection, to have spoken.* And for the second kind of Attention to the Nature of the Sacraments, and its Effects, they suppose it of little moment as to the validity, or invalidity of the Sacrament: If the Priest make any such Reflections, 'tis on his own account. But the question at present is to know what it is that makes the Sacrament valid.

3. It is plain, that they mean an inward Disposition, which they express in these terms, *That he have an intention to do that which the Church doth:* It is evident, I say, that they suppose an act of the Understanding, which knows what the Church doth, and an act of the Will, by which a man saith in himself, I will do that which the Church doth. Indeed if by this Intention the *Roman* Church did only understand an act of the Will to perform the external act of Baptism, for instance, or to pronounce the words of Consecration, without requiring any other internal Intention, they could not rationally condemn the Protestants, who are not so stupid to imagine, that a man can perform an external act; as for instance, that of Baptizing, or pronouncing words, as is done outwardly in the Church, without the said act be commanded by the Will. This was so thoroughly the Belief of the Fathers of the Council of *Trent*, that when *Catharin*, who was altogether of our Opinion, represented to them the bad Consequences arising from their determination of this Article, wherein they follow'd

follow'd the common Opinion of the Schoolmen for some Ages, they were not in the least moved at those Consequences, but swallowed them without any more ado.

This fact is so important to the right understanding of the state of the Question between the Church of *Rome* and us, that it is requisite to relate the same, as it is set down by Father *Paul* in his second Book of the History of that Council. "Here, saith
 "he, *Catharin* Bishop of *Minori* propos'd a memorable thing, and which was judg'd by all worthy of due Consideration, and very weighty,
 "viz. he said, that as to the Lutherans who attribute no other Virtue to the Sacraments, but that
 "of exciting Faith, which may be awakn'd by other means, the receiving of the true Sacrament is of
 "small importance; wherefore also they say that it
 "is not necessary, and yet they hold it to be an
 "absurd thing, that the malice of a wicked Minister,
 "who hath no intention to confer the true Sacrament
 "can be any prejudice, because we are to regard
 "what the Believer receives, and not what the Minister gives him. But as for the Catholics, who
 "attribute to the Sacrament the Virtue of conferring Grace, it is of very great moment that they
 "be assur'd of their receiving the true and efficacious Sacrament, forasmuch as it very rarely happens that Grace is obtained by any other means.
 "And certainly little Children, and distracted Persons, do not receive Grace by any other means, and the common People have ordinarily so small
 "and weak a Disposition, that without the Sacrament it would never be sufficient for the receiving
 "of Grace: Moreover those few Persons, that are
 "as rare as *Phoenix's*, which have a perfect Disposition

" sition, do notwithstanding receive a greater de-
 " gree of Grace by the Sacrament. If it should
 " happen that a Priest that hath the charge of four
 " or five thousand Souls, should be an Unbeliever,
 " but withal a great Hypocrite, and that in the ab-
 " solution of Penitents, at the Baptism of little
 " Children, and Consecration of the Eucharist, he
 " should have a secret Intention not to do what the
 " Church doth, we must conclude the little Chil-
 " dren damned, the Penitents unabsoved, and all
 " deprived of the fruits of the holy Communion:
 " And it avails nothing to say here, that Faith sup-
 " plies that defect, because that cannot be true in
 " Infants, and in others it cannot, according to the
 " Catholick Doctrine, do the effect of the Sacra-
 " ment; and if it can in case of the Minister's Wick-
 " edness, forasmuch as the same may be constant
 " and perpetual, why might it not do the same
 " always? Besides that the assigning so great Virtue
 " to Faith, is to take away that of the Sacraments,
 " and to fall into the Opinion of the Lutherans.

" He offer'd it also to their Consideration, how
 " great would be the Affliction and Anguish
 " of a tender Father for his Child at the point of
 " death, if he should have any doubt concerning
 " the Intention of the Priest that baptizeth it: Like-
 " wise in what anxiety would a Catechumene be,
 " who finding in himself only a small and very
 " imperfect Disposition, and notwithstanding pre-
 " senting himself to receive Baptism, should he come
 " to doubt whether the Priest might not be a false
 " Christian, and have no Intention at all of bapti-
 " sing him, but only to dip or wash him in jest
 " and sport? That the same thing might be confi-
 " dered in Confession, and receiving the Communion.
 " And if it be said, proceeded *Catharin*, that
 these

“ these Cases are very rare ; would to God it were
 “ so indeed, and that in this corrupt Age there
 “ were not reason to suspect them but too frequent.
 “ But suppose they be very rare, and that there
 “ were but one only, might it not so happen that
 “ this wicked Priest might administer the true Bap-
 “ tism without intention to an Infant, who when
 “ grown to a man, might be made Bishop over a
 “ great City, and live many years in that charge, so
 “ that he hath ordained a great part of the Priests ;
 “ it must be said, that he, being not baptized, is not
 “ ordained, nor they ordained, who are promoted by
 “ him. So that by this means there would be in this
 “ great City, neither the Sacrament of the Eucha-
 “ rist, nor of Confession, which cannot be with-
 “ out the true Sacrament of holy Orders, nor that,
 “ without a true Bishop, nor a Bishop duly ordained,
 “ without Baptism. Behold here how by the Wicked-
 “ ness of a Minister we find in one sole act a million
 “ of Nullities of Sacraments ; and who would say,
 “ that in so great a number of Nullities, God sup-
 “ plies all by his Almightyness, and that by extraor-
 “ dinary remedies he provides for things of con-
 “ stant and daily use ? we should much rather be
 “ perswaded that God hath already by his Provi-
 “ dence provided, that such like accidents cannot
 “ happen. And yet, said the Bishop, God hath
 “ provided against all inconveniences, having or-
 “ dained that that should be a true Sacrament,
 “ which is administred with the Ceremonies or-
 “ dained by him, tho’ it may happen that the Mini-
 “ ster may have another intention. He added more-
 “ over, that this was not repugnant to the common
 “ Doctrine of Divines, nor to the Determination of
 “ the Council of *Florence*, which imports, that the
 B 2 “inten-

"intention of the Minister is required to the Sa-
 "crament; because that is to be understood not of
 "the internal intention, but of that which mani-
 "fests it self in the outward work, tho' inwardly
 "he might have a contrary intention. And that
 "thus all those inconveniences are avoided, which
 "would otherwise be innumerable. He alledged
 "many other reasons for Proof of his Saying,
 "and last of all produced an example recorded by
 "*Sozomenus* in his Ecclesiastical History; That on a
 "day the Children of *Alexandria* being met together
 "near the Sea for to play, began to imitate the
 "actions wont to be done in the Church, and ha-
 "ving made *Athanasius* Bishop of their Play, he
 "baptized some of the said Children who had ne-
 "ver been baptized; which coming to the ear of
 "*Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, of famous
 "memory, he was troubled at it, and having
 "call'd the Children, he asked what their mock-
 "Bishop had done and said to them; and having
 "found by their Answer, that the whole Form and
 "Ceremony of the Church had been observed;
 "wherefore by the Counsel and Advice of other
 "Priests, he approved and ratified that Baptism;
 "whereupon Bishop *Catharin* said, That this Appro-
 "bation could not be maintained, if such an inten-
 "tion were required to the Sacrament, as others
 "say there is; but very well in the manner that he
 "had declared.

These are the great inconveniences wherewith
 the common notion which bore sway amongst the
 followers of the Decision of Pope *Eugenius* the IV.
 is intangled. Well! what resolution did the Coun-
 cil take hereupon?

"This

“ This Doctrine, saith Father *Paul*, was not at all
 “ relished by the other Divines, notwithstanding
 “ that they were confounded and put to a Non-
 “ plus by the Reasons he had alledged, which they
 “ could not solve; but notwithstanding, persisted
 “ in their opinion, That the true intention of the
 “ Minister is necessary, either actual, virtual, or
 “ potential; and that if he have a contrary inward
 “ intention, the Sacrament is not valid, notwith-
 “ standing all exterior Demonstration. And accord-
 ingly they thundered out their Anathema in the
 terms before set down.

I am not ignorant what the said Father *Paul* ob-
 serves in the same place; that after this absolute
 decision of the Council, that the intention of the
 Minister is necessary; the foresaid Prelate continu-
 ed firm in his Opinion, and that a year after this
 Definition of the Council, he wrote a small Trea-
 tise on this Subject, in which he asserts, that the
 Council of *Trent* had been of his Opinion, and
 that the Definition by them made, was to be un-
 derstood in his sense. But here we must remark
 two things, 1. That the Council expressly condemns
 his sense in Session 14. Cap. 6. where 'tis said, That
 if a Priest doth not design truly to absolve, the Pe-
 nitent is not truly absolved. If the matter till then
 passed for doubtful, or favourable to *Catharin*, at
 least after that Decree which respects one of those
 inconveniences which *Catharin* had so much insisted
 on, it can no longer be supposed incertain or dis-
 putable. The first Decree of the Council was pub-
 lished in the year 1547. *March* the 3d. and the se-
 cond appeared 1551. the 11th. of *October*. I know
 well, that this last Doctrine has no Anathema an-
 nexed to it, as all those have that are accounted
 infallible

infallible Decrees of the Council. But the question in this case being concerning the meaning or intention of the Council, we must either suppose that the Fathers might mistake in explaining their own meaning, or else we must own that *Ambrosius Catharin* imposed on the Council, in maintaining that their *Anathema* contained nothing contrary to his Explication : And the Council in taking no notice of *Catharin's* Book, did only make use of the same profound Conduct, we observe in its Definition about the manner of the Real Presence in the Eucharist ; for the Councils Design being to preserve an Union amongst their Divines, suffered quietly each Party to take their Decrees in their own Sense, tho indeed there could be no more than one Sense of the Council : Thus seeing that there were then in the Church of *Rome*, besides *Catharin*, several Learned Men, as Cardinal *Lugo* witnesseth *de Sacrament. disp.* 7. §. 2. who did not own the necessity of any inward Intention, they thought fit to take no notice of the Treatise of *Ambrosius Catharin* ; not to say, that possibly the Council accounted it a Feat worthy of their Policy to delude the Protestants by this seeming Toleration of their Opinion.

However it be, we find in the 2d place, after this Definition, a perfect uniformity in this matter ; for they take no notice of some Divines, who undertook to defend *Catharin* against the general Current, their Divines rejecting and refuting the Opinion of *Catharin*, as an erroneous Doctrine, contrary to the Definition of the Council : this we see in *Bellarmin*, *Vasquez*, *Suarez*, Cardinal *Lugo* and all the rest. And we are to observe, that if there be any Dispute amongst the *Roman* Divines about the necessity of
Inten-

Intention; some of them supposing an actual Intention of doing what the Church doth to be necessary: others thinking an habitual Intention to be sufficient; and others again a virtual Intention, yet they all agree about the necessity of Intention in order to the validity of the Sacrament. 1st. They agree that an actual Intention is sufficient. 2. That an habitual Intention, that is a foregoing Intention which has never been revok'd, sufficeth. 3. They agree also that a virtual Intention, that is, the application of Actions exprest in celebrating of the Sacrament is sufficient, supposing that the Imagination works and directs, having received from the Will the necessary impressions to produce those corporal actions that are necessary for the Celebration of the Sacraments; this is very exactly explained by Cardinal *de Lugo de Sacrament. disp. 8. Sess. 5.* tho he owns, that there be certain Actions in the Sacrament, wherein this virtual Intention is not necessary, of which he gives some very pleasant Examples.

The Council of *Trent*, having followed the general Terms of the School in this matter, without explaining themselves too precisely for fear of displeasing any of their Communion; it is somewhat difficult to know what they meant by those Words, *to have at least the Intention of doing what the Church doth*: For if these Terms do not simply signifie to do an outward Action, as the same is practised in the Church, what else would they exprest thereby? Some pretend with *Richard de Media Villa* and *Vasquez*, That the Minister must will the end or effect of the Sacrament, *viz.* the Sanctification which the Sacrament produces: others believe that these Word, do not import any such meaning, but only

ly an intention of doing those external Actions, with regard to their being Religious Ceremonies : and others again, as Cardinal *de Lugo*, refute both these Notions, and pretend it is sufficient, that the Minister have an Intention to act and speak in the Name of Jesus Christ. But if you ask them whether it be necessary, that this Will of his be explicate, they answer that an implicate Will doth suffice ; and that accordingly when a man hath only the intention of doing what a Curate of his Communion doth in administering the Sacrament, the Sacrament is valid as to the intention of him that administers it. Thus *Vasquez* declares himself *disp.* 138. *n.* 51, and is therein followed by Cardinal *de Lugo*.

I should never have done, should I go about to set down particularly the ridiculousness which each of these Divines finds in the Opinions of those that differ from them in this matter. It shall suffice us to take notice, that after many Contests arising from the obscurity affected by the Council of *Trent*, and imitated by the Authors of the *Romish* Catechism ; who religiously retained those unintelligible Expressions, they all equally agree in this, That in a Minister of the Sacraments, there is required, besides an intention of doing the External Actions, which Jesus Christ hath prescribed, another Action either actual or supposed, of the Will, by which the Minister acts as a Minister of Jesus Christ, without which, according to their Doctrine, the Sacrament cannot be true. The reason which they commonly alledge to confirm this Opinion of theirs, sufficiently evidences that this is their Doctrine. Thus they Philosophize ; they hold that an Action cannot be humane that is moral, except it be done with some intention,

on, and suppose either actually or virtually an Act of the Will ; whence they conclude, that the Intention in general is absolutely necessary in the Minister of the Sacrament, who must do an Humane Action. In the 2^d place they suppose, that the Action of the Minister of the Sacraments must be an Action done in the Name of Jesus Christ, and as they hold it would not have that Character, if the Minister should be wanting as to this inward Intention to act as a Minister of Jesus Christ. This is that which Cardinal *de Lugo* alledges as a proof *a Priori*, because a Minister acts in the Sacraments as a Minister of Jesus Christ.

We look upon these Speculations of the *Romish* School, not only as meer Chimera's, but also as real Mistakes, because thereby they make the effect and validity of the Sacraments to depend upon an uncertain and unknown Act of the Ministers, on which we do not find that God hath made it at all to depend, and whereon it is ridiculous to suppose that the Divine Wisdom should have made it dependant. We believe that the Sacraments of the New Testament are Ceremonies of the Christian Religion, of the same nature as were the Sacraments of the Circumcision and the Paschal Lamb, which were the Sacraments of the Old Covenant : now as the Actions which God therein prescribed, did not, as to their validity, depend on the Ministers of the Old Testament, no more do we believe that the Ceremonies, which Jesus Christ hath prescribed under the New, derive their validity from the Intention of him that administer's them. We acknowledge that the Ministers are obliged, by the nature of their Ministry, to celebrate them with the Respect, Decency, and Order, which is due to Religious

gious Ceremonies; and we believe that they sin grievously if they be wanting therein. If they should at any time administer the Sacraments with Comical Postures, or without the Reverence that is required in Sacred Actions, we should accuse them of Profanation. But yet if they follow exactly the Intention of our Saviour in celebrating them, then we believe, tho' they might be Hypocrites or Atheists in their Heart, the Sacrament, for the dispensing of which they are appointed, doth not therefore lose its validity. Our Foundation herein is firm and unmoveable, because they are only the Ministers and not the Masters or Authors of the Sacraments: their Ministry only consists in doing the Actions Jesus Christ hath prescribed, and to explain them by pronouncing the Words of the Sacrament, and what the end and use of these Ceremonies of our Religion is according to the Intention of our Saviour Jesus Christ, expressed in Words which they pronounce in his Name, and as being his Ministers. Now we know that whatsoever the intention of the Minister of a Prince may be with reference to a Criminal, to whom he delivers a Pardon in the Name of his Prince, it can have no influence on the validity of the said Act of Grace of the Prince his Master, because the validity of the Pardon wholly depends on the Will and Intention of the Prince, and not at all on the Intention of the Minister, who being only a Moral Instrument, cannot influence an Act, which the Prince has not made dependent of his Will.

In effect it is hard to conceive a more false and ridiculous Opinion than is that of the Church of *Rome* on this point; 1st, It supposeth that the defect of Intention, which is a sin of the Minister, is the cause

cause of an eternal loss to him that is ignorant of it, and who does not in the least partake of that sin, which is manifestly contrary, not only to the Law of Nature, but also to the disposal of Divine Justice, which will not permit the Penalty of sin to reach any but the Author, or those that are Abettors by consenting to it. *2dly*, It overthrows the Notion of the Ministry, in making the Sacrament to depend on the Power of the Minister, without whose Intention it cannot have its Validity. The Ministry differs in this from the Authority of Jesus Christ; that Jesus Christ hath instituted the Sacraments to be celebrated in his Church, and to signify the Graces we receive by partaking of them: The Sacraments therefore consist of these two parts; the one is the doing the Actions prescribed; the other is to express the sense of those Actions; both which are performed by the Ministers, to whom Jesus Christ hath committed the Dispensation of the Sacraments: Now if the Validity of the Sacrament depends of any other thing, *viz.* the Intention of the Minister, it will follow, that the Minister besides his Dispensation is Master of the Sacrament; forasmuch as the Sacrament cannot be valid without him; that is, it cannot be a Sacrament. 'Tis a very strange conceit, that Jesus Christ should have ordained a Minister, who by his Ordination can wholly overthrow the Design, and make void the Institution of our Saviour: For the thing is not impossible, and it may naturally be supposed; yea it might so happen that all Priests, if it were only to shew their Liberty, might resolve to have no intention; and if so, what would become of the Sacraments which our Lord hath instituted?

3. This Doctrine of the necessity of Intention doth overturn and manifestly destroy the nature of those sacred Signs ; which being so by the Institution of our Saviour, they don't derive their Virtue from the Authority or the Action of the Minister : on the contrary it is certain, that the Action of the Minister derives all its Authority from the Institution. We call the Sacraments, in conformity to the Ancients, a *Visible Word* : now forasmuch as the Words have their signification independently of him that makes use of them, and in virtue of a Use formerly established, it is apparent that we cannot make the validity of the Sacraments depend on the Intention of the Minister, without thereby destroying the Nature of them.

4^{ly}, It manifestly opposeth the common Sense and Judgment of all Christians. When we have seen an Infant Baptized, and with the ordinary Ceremonies received in the Church, all that have been present, say, and suppose they have all the reason in the World so to do, that a Child hath been baptized ? The Church of *Rome* it self, doth it not go on this Ground, establishing her Jurisdiction over Persons on this account, and thinks her self to have right to punish the Party as an Apostate in case he leaves the *Roman* Religion for to embrace Mahometanism, or to list himself among Protestants ? Now can a stranger piece of Folly be conceived than this Proposition, *viz.* such an one has been baptized in the presence of such Witnesses, in case it be true, that besides the Ceremony administered, the Intention of the Minister be required to make it a true and valid Baptism ? Or can any proceeding be more unjust than that of the Inquisition in condemning such a person and burning him for an Apostate.

Let

Let us also consider that Chaos of Doubts and Uncertainties into which the necessity of the Ministers Intention doth necessarily cast all Christians, without leaving any imaginable means to be freed therefrom. 'Tis a sure Maxim delivered by the Holy Spirit himself, That none knows the Heart of Man, but the Heart of Man, and the Deity, who takes to himself this Title, *The Searcher of the Heart* : How then is it possible for me ever to be assured that I have been Baptized, That I have been Confirmed, That I have had Absolution of my Sins, That I have partaken of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, That I have really received any Orders, That I have the Power of Baptizing, of Consecrating, of Absolving, of Ordaining Ministers, That I am lawfully Married, That I have received Extreme Unction ; If I must believe that none of these Actions can be truly done without the Intention of the Minister of the Sacraments, which is absolutely unknown to me, and of which I have no way to assure my self ? The Papists ordinarily object to some Protestants, for an Absurdity, from which they cannot free themselves, the Idea of the Church upon the Hypothesis of Election : their ground is this, that it is the greatest Absurdity imaginable, to make the Church, which is a visible Body, to depend on a Decree of eternal Election ; which is a Will hid in God, and is not revealed : but in truth we may upbraid to them with much more Justice, their Notion of the necessity of Intention ; by which means all the great Concerns of their Church are left so uncertain and phantastick, that nothing can be imagined more vain, or that smells more rank of Delusion. For upon this supposal, we have no Assurance of any object of our Religion, all depending on this
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secret Intention, which is altogether uncertain. A man cannot be a Priest if he have not been baptized ; he cannot be a Bishop, if before he have not been a Priest ; he cannot be a Pope, if he have not been a Bishop or Priest ; he cannot be the Subject of Infallibility ; he can't decide any thing Sovereignly and without appeal, if he be not a Christian and a Priest before. This necessity of Intention works as many Miracles of Uncertainty to the subversion of the Certainty of Religion, as Transubstantiation doth to the destruction of Sense, Reason and Faith. I will not make the displeasing Parallel here, it is sufficient to point out the thing to the Judicious Reader, who may make his Reflexions thereupon.

Moreover it is on this Intention of the Priest, that that Miracle depends, or rather that Croud of Miracles, which are wrought in Transubstantiation ; and how can we lawfully dispense our selves from making one Reflexion thereupon of another nature. It is certain that never was there any Idolatry more inexcusable than that of the Church of *Rome*, in case there be no Transubstantiation ; the Jesuit *Co-*
Enchirid. c. 8. *sterus* agrees to this. Now what certainty have they of the Church of *Rome*, for their adoring the the Sacrament, if we suppose that without the Intention of the Priest (which is always uncertain to the Worshippers) there can be no Transubstantiation ; so that they can have no other ground to adore the Eucharist but the Persuasion they have, That the Priest has had the Intention of Consecrating. But I enquire further, what ground have they for this Persuasion ? Is it founded on the Evidence of the thing that strikes their Sense ? none will be so foolish to say so. Is it founded on the Testimony of

of Reason? No, for Reason cannot discover the least ground of Certainty therein. Is it then founded on the Evidence of Faith, that is to say, on some Revelation? Neither do I believe that this can be rationally maintained by any one; if it were so, all the Communicants would be obliged either to prove the truth of the Revelation made to them, or else to pass for Fools and Enthusiasts. And forasmuch as this perplexing difficulty is obvious to the Eyes of all the World, the Divines of the *Roman* Communion could do no less than take notice of it; they do own that a Priest, who hath no intention to consecrate, would make the People commit Idolatry, in making them to worship meer Bread instead of the precious Body of Jesus Christ, which are the very words of *Benedict* in his Summ. lib. 4. c. 1. But what answer doth he return to this terrible inconvenience? True it is, saith he, that a man in this case would be excused before God from sin, as being under invincible Ignorance. Besides, saith he, it would only be material Idolatry in the People, who worship the Host in the Faith of the Church, as being obliged to worship what the Priest shews them, without any condition, or hesitation whatsoever. To confirm this excellent resolution of that difficulty, he cites the Authority of *Vignier de Euch.* cap. 16.

I know well, that the Church of *Rome* pretends, that in this case there is a moral Certainty, which is sufficient to appease the Conscience of Christians; which they endeavour to make out thus; 1. Because it is the most easie thing in the World to have this intention. 2. Because those who have been baptized in their Infancy, are bound in this matter to believe their Parents who have presented them

to

to be baptized. But all this is meer Vanity, and I cannot imagine how men of good Sense, can call that a moral Certainty, which is founded on such vain Conjectures, and so subject to Error. For is it any Argument, that, because to have an intention is the easiest thing in the World, therefore no Priest can be wanting in the same? When they themselves furnish us with divers Examples of sacrilegious Priests and concealed Jews, who have owned at their Death, that, during the whole Course of their lives, they never had the Intention which the Church of *Rome* prescribes.

What advantage also can they draw from our owning, that the Certainty which a man hath of his having been baptized, is sufficiently evidenc'd by the Testimony of his Parents, to prove that a man hath been baptized, whilst they hold, that besides the external Ceremony, and the words of Baptism, of which the Parents can give an assured Testimony, there is also required a secret Intention of the Priest, of which all the men of the World, had they been present, could not give us the least assurance? The Testimony of our Parents does indeed produce a moral Certainty that we have been baptized; but the perswasion of the *Roman* Church has nothing like it, and therefore it cannot pass for a moral Certitude with them, but for a ridiculous Credulity without ground or foundation, which Credulity notwithstanding, is the Ground and Basis of the most important act of Religion, and without which, there is nothing but an empty imitation of whatsoever at this day passeth for the Religion of Jesus Christ.

Whatsoever Judgment a wise Reader may make of this *Romish* Doctrine, yet their Doctors are
not

not wanting to maintain it, and to propound it as a Truth clearly confirmed by holy Scripture. Cardinal *de Lugo*, who is one of the last that hath writ of the matter, calls this Doctrine a Catholick Truth, because it appears, that Jesus Christ hath so instituted the Sacraments, that he would have them to depend on the intention of the Ministers. This he proves concerning the Sacrament of Penance with these words; *Quorum remisseritis peccata, remittentur eis*, Joh. 20. and concerning Extreme Unction, *Let them send for the Elders of the Church, and pray over him*, James 5. Concerning the Communion from those words, *Do this in my remembrance*, he proves the same with respect to Holy Orders, from these words of the *Pontifical. Rom. Accipe potestatem, &c.* As for Marriage, he owns that it cannot be consummated without the intention of the Parties contracted, because an inward simulation is sufficient to spoil the Contract. And forasmuch as there must be a Conformity between the Sacraments, he concludes from these Examples, that we must suppose the same Necessity of Intention with respect to Baptism and Confirmation, and the rather because the Apostle *St. Paul* seems to suppose it, when he saith, *1 Cor. 4. ver. 1. Let a man so account of us, as of the Ministers of Christ, and Stewards of the Mysteries of God.* Now a Steward, saith he, must have an Intention to act conformably to his Master's orders, or else he is not look'd upon as a Steward. He proceeds afterwards to shew, that the point hath been defined by the Authority of Councils, as that of *Florence*, and that of *Trent*. To which he joyns some reasons, which we have already taken into consideration. Thus you have had a view of the Proof of this Doctrine, the Consequences where-

of make a Heart that hath the least sense of Christianity to tremble.

My design is not to examine one by one, all the Supposals the Cardinal makes to establish the truth of this Doctrine. 1. It is false, that those words of St. *John* 20. do refer to the Sacrament of Penance properly so called, but rather regard the whole Ministry, or Dispensation of the Gospel; and St. *Cyprian* hath applied them to Baptism: this is so evident, that we may invincibly refute the supposition of the Cardinal, who holds, That the Priesthood is conferred by those words of our Saviour; and indeed a Priest that is newly ordained, doth say Mass, and consecrate with the Bishop, before that the Bishop hath spoken to him those words, which are not uttered till immediately after the Post-Communion. 2ly. It is false, that in the 5th. of St. *James* vers. 14. there is any mention made of Extreme Unction, and some famous Divines of the *Roman* Communion are of the same Opinion. 3ly. It is false, that those words, *Accipe potestatem*, taken out of the *Pontifical. Rom.* are a solid Proof; because the use thereof is altogether new in the form, wherein it is conceiv'd at present. The Learned *Hugo Menard* honestly acknowledges it in his Notes on the Book of the Sacraments of *Gregory I.* And Father *Morin*, who hath publish'd many Extracts of ancient Pontificals, hath not found any of them, of above 500 years standing, that hath this form of Words; and which besides is altogether unknown to all other Christian Churches of the East and South. 4ly. It is false, or at least uncertain, that the Intention of those that are contracted in Marriage, is necessary to the Sacrament of Marriage, if it be true that the Parties contract-

contracted, are not the Minister of the Sacrament, but the Priest that bleſſeth the Marriage, as divers Divines of the *Roman* Communion do hold, before *M. de Marca* Archbishop of *Paris*, who hath alledged them, as may be ſeen in his Poſthumous Works. 5ly. It is likewiſe ridiculous to conclude, that becauſe the intention of the Priest is neceſſary to the validity of the Eucharist, that it muſt be alſo neceſſary in Baptiſm, when the Scripture affords us nothing to alledge in Proof thereof, eſpecially when we find ſo much difference between the Eucharist and Baptiſm, with reſpect to their neceſſity. The ſilence of the Scripture in this point, ought naturally to incline us to think, that conſidering the abſolute neceſſity of that Sacrament, according to the Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, Jeſus Chriſt would not have thought it fit to make it depend, like the other Sacraments, upon the Miniſters intention, eſpecially when it is poſſible that ſuch a Miniſter may be a Jew or a Heathen.

But without entring on this Examen, which is not altogether neceſſary, I ſhall confine my ſelf to theſe three Conſiderations, which are ſufficient to expoſe the vanity of thoſe who alledge the Example of the Inſtitution of the Eucharist, which they pretend our Saviour hath made to depend on the Intention of the Miniſter of that Sacrament.

I ſay in the firſt place, that theſe words, *This do in remembrance of me*, were never taken, nor can they be taken in the ſenſe which Cardinal *Lugo* hath put upon them; they ſignifying only, according to our intent, thus much; whereas heretofore ye brake Bread in memory of your deliverance from *Egypt*, for which reaſon that Bread was called the Bread of Miſery; break it now in memory of

Fortalit. Fid.

my Passion. This is that which is owned by the *Jews*, as we may see in the Writings of a *Spanish* Monk, who wrote before the Reformation. But where do we find the least word here concerning the secret Intention of the Minister, without which the Celebration of that Sacrament is invalid? In truth it is an admirable thing what great service these words do to those of the *Roman* Communion: When we ask them who hath given them the power to change the nature of the Bread into the Body of Jesus Christ, they alledge those words, as if they were peremptory and decisive in the case, *This do in remembrance of me*. He changed, say they, the Bread into his Body, consequently he gave to Priests the same Power by those words. When we demand of them a Proof to make out that Jesus Christ is sacrificed in the Eucharist, they still alledge, *This do in remembrance of me*; and they prove it thus; because *to do*, signifies *to sacrifice*, and that *Virgil* useth it in that sense. Again, if the point to be proved be, That there is neither Transubstantiation nor Sacrifice in the Eucharist, if the Priest hath no intention to consecrate and to sacrifice, they set before us the same proof as clear and convincing. But in case it be so clear a proof, how comes it to pass, that for twelve Centuries none of the Interpreters of holy Scripture have made use of it? How is it that the Ancient Fathers never drew this Conclusion from those words? It would be very well if the Gentlemen of the Church of *Rome*, in their Disputes with us, would not quote any place of Scripture, without making it appear that the Ancient Christians from the Apostles time till now, have always taken them in the same Sense wherein they quote them

them to us. The Council of *Trent* hath obliged Sess. 4.
all their Divines to do so in the Rules they have
given for the Explication of holy Scripture; but
we see they take no great care to follow this
Maxim in their controversial Treatises.

The second Consideration we are to make on
these words, is, That if they prove that the Mi-
nisters Intention is absolutely necessary to make
the Sacrament valid, it will follow by the same
Supposition, that the secret Intention of the people
that are present, must concur with that of the
Minister, without which the Sacrament cannot have
its validity. For we must either say, that it was
the Will of Christ that the People should do what
he had ordained, *viz.* to eat the consecrated Bread
in remembrance of him, or that it was not his
Will; by what other Words hath our Saviour e-
stablished the necessity of the Peoples partaking of
the Eucharist, besides these, *This do in remembrance
of me*? If therefore they suppose a necessity of the
Priest's Intention in order to the validity of the
Sacrament, how can we suppose but that the inten-
tion of the People who partake thereof, must also
be necessary? it is comprised in the same Discourse;
it is expressed in the same words; and in the mean
time we must say, according to the Sentiment of
the Church of *Rome*, that the same words have two
senses, one with respect to the Priests, and the
other with respect to Lay-men; that the same Pro-
position is false when addressed to Lay-men, and
true when spoken to Priests, notwithstanding that
Jesus Christ spake them equally to both, without
hinting any such distinction.

I say in the third place, to speak more seriously,
that the meaning of our blessed Saviour, is very
clear

clear in this matter ; he ordains that a Ceremony which was practised amongst the *Jews*, but with another regard, should for time to come serve for another use, much in like manner as he established the Ceremony of Baptism, which was practised amongst the *Jews*, as the Ceremony of entering into their Church. The *Jews* troubled not themselves about the secret intention of him that baptized ; nor whether the Father of the Family, who brake the Bread on *Easter-Eve*, were a close Epicurean. Jesus Christ expresses his Institution as a Law-giver ; and upon a like matter he sets down the end of it, *viz.* the remembrance of his Death, as that which was the ransom of Mankind, which obliges the Minister of the Sacrament, and all that partake thereof, to celebrate the Memory of so great a Mystery with all the Devotion they can. St. *Paul* declares on this account, that he who eats the Bread of the Lord unworthily, is guilty of his Body ; but he speaks neither more nor less of the secret intention of the Minister, without which, they say, this Sacrament can be of no validity. Indeed it is a very strange thing to see the Apostle St. *Paul*, who was so careful in giving Instructions to Ministers, to represent to them the concern of their Ministry, did never give them any Lesson concerning the necessity of having this intention required in the Sacraments ; especially if we consider, that without the said intention, the People committed to their care are in such visible danger of falling without remedy into everlasting damnation.

But some may say, that the Cardinal *de Lugo* proves that the Apostle St. *Paul* declares, that the validity of the Sacraments doth depend on the Intention of the Minister, when he saith, 1 *Cor.* 4.

ver. 1.

ver. 1. *Let a man so account of us, as of the Ministers of Christ, and Stewards of the Mysteries of God.* I see he doth; but withall, I take notice that the Cardinals are no more successful in alledging Scripture for to maintain their Opinions, than the meanest of the Laicks of the *Roman* Communion; and if the abuse which Lay-men make of the Scriptures, has been the occasion of depriving them of the liberty of reading them, we shall find this Cardinal deserves the same Prohibition. *St. Paul* in the place quoted by the Cardinal, speaks only of the word of the Gospel; and the Mysteries of God spoken of there, signifie nothing else but the Mysteries which God has revealed; and if we read the Text with attention, we cannot doubt thereof; and in the mean time the Cardinal makes use of this passage to prove that the Sacraments are invalid without the Ministers Intention. But suppose the Apostle did speak in this place concerning the Sacraments, are not Ministers as well Stewards of the Word, as well as of the Sacraments? And yet was ever any man so foolish to imagine that a Minister who preacheth the Word, and in the mean time is a secret Atheist, can annul the Virtue of the Gospel, by refusing to preach the same with the Intention required to make it efficacious? Is it not always the Word of Life, tho' it should proceed from the mouth of the Devil? Is it not always the Power of God for the Salvation of those that believe, tho' preached by Pope *Leo X.* who look'd upon the Gospel as a fabulous Story.

And as for the Councils alledged by the *Romanists* to authorize the Belief of this Article; I grant that if they were Councils of the 2^d or 3^d Century, we should have reason to be astonished, that so strange
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an Imagination had been started so soon : or at least it would be natural to judge, that it had its rise from the Conceits of those Fantastick Authors, who at that time greatly pester'd the Doctrine of the Gospel, and by the Ecclesiastical Writers are put down in the Catalogue of Hereticks. But by good luck, the antientest Council they alledge for this Opinion is that of *Constance*, assembled in 1414. A Council famous for taking away the Holy Cup, by an Attempt contrary to the Authority of Jesus Christ, and to the Practice of the Apostles and Primitive Church ; a Council to which some of the *Roman* Communion give the Title of *Conciliabulum*. Pope *Eugenius* defined what pleased him at *Florence* in 1431, after that the *Greeks* were departed : and the *Armenians* standing in need to be instructed about the necessity of the Ministers intention, doth make it evident, that they were not acquainted with this *Romish* Doctrine, notwithstanding that, many years before, the Popes Missionaries had instructed them about that question, as may be seen in the Book of *Armachanus* against the *Arminians*. As for the Council of *Trent*, we know that the main design of it was, without publishing the matter, to confirm the decisions of Pope *Leo* the X. in his Bull against *Luther* ; which is plainly owned by Cardinal *Pallavicini* as to this point of Intention. Besides, this Council had not the least Liberty allowed it, but absolutely intended on the good pleasure of the Pope ; which made the *French* Ambassador say, That the Holy Spirit was conveyed to the said Council from *Rome*, in the Popes Messengers Cloak-bag. And this is all the Antiquity and Authority they have to support their Doctrine of the necessity of Intention. Lastly, we are so far

far from finding any thing in Antiquity to persuade us, that ever the Christian Church received this Doctrine by Tradition from the Apostles; that on the contrary we find there sufficient matter to convince us, that if any one should have broached any such Doctrine, it would have been look'd upon as most strange and monstrous. This is that which now I intend to make out, that no pretext may be left to support so pernicious an Error.

1st, I take notice that for the Space of 12. Centuries, we find nothing in antient Writings importing that the Church did believe that the Intention of the Minister of the Sacraments was necessary in manner, as the Church of *Rome* now conceives it, for their validity. If this Maxim, That it is necessary at least that the Minister have Intention to do what the Church doth, be to be found any where in their Writings, the *Romish* Writers of Controversie would do well, to shew it us; for hitherto they have not produc'd any thing that hath the least appearance of a Proof to confirm their Opinion. It may be some will imagine, That the Fathers had no occasion to write about this matter: but I have three things to offer in reference to this Objection. 1st, That they have very largely treated concerning the Sacraments, and against diverse Heresies; we have several Treatises of theirs concerning Baptism and the Eucharist, particularly of *Justin Martyr*, of *Tertullian*, of *St. Basil*, of *St. Gregory Nyssen*, of *St. Austin*, of *St. Chrysostom*, of *Isidore*, of *Sevil*, as also of Authors of the 8th, 9th, 10th and 11th Age; but in all these Treatises we do not so much as find one word concerning the Intention of the Minister, or its necessity for the validity of the Sacrament. Is not the Negligence of so many Authors matter of astonishment, who

have writ in so many Ages in such different places, and yet that none of them should make the least mention of a thing which the Divines of the *Romish* Church set down with so much care, and about which they take so much pains to agree amongst themselves. 2. I say the Fathers had as much occasion to treat of this Question, and to decide it, as they of *Rome* can have at this time, and yet we don't find them taking any of those courses, where-to they of the Church of *Rome* have been engaged by this Belief: I'll instance in two notable and ordinary Cases, concerning which the Fathers ought to have explain'd themselves. 1. A Priest on *Easter-day*, intending to give the Eucharist to the People, hath before him eleven Hostes, tho' he does not know of any more than ten; the Divines and Canonists of *Rome* demand on this occasion, whether all the eleven be consecrated, or only ten, or whether any of them be. *Calderin in C. Si Sacerdos extra de Offic. Ordinar.* maintains, that if he had intention to consecrate them all, they are all consecrated, tho' there might be a mistake in his counting of them, but withal maintains, that if his Intention were only to consecrate ten, and no more, the Consecration is null and void, forasmuch as it does not appear which of the eleven he had intention to consecrate; which is also the Opinion of *Panormitanus* on the same Chapter. We must not pass by the excellent Reasonings which *Chappuis* sets down concerning this matter, in *Summul. Raymundi Tr. 3. p. 164.* Behold here another Case common enough: A Priest having several Hostes to consecrate, when he comes to the act of Consecration, takes notice only of that which is in his Hands, and accordingly utters the Sacramental words over that only;

only. What shall we say in this case? Are all the rest consecrated, or no? Some Divines have maintained that they are not; *but we say*, saith the knowing *Chappuis* in his Glosses upon the *Summ. of Raymond*, *that they are all consecrated, because a virtual Intention is sufficient, and he had that virtual Intention, when he took the Hostes in order to consecrate them all.* Now these being Cases frequent enough, the Ancients had as much occasion to declare themselves as precisely upon this point, as *Scotus* ever had; to resolve the difficulty of these Cases, they were obliged to determine the Necessity of Intention, and to explain the Character and Nature of it; we must therefore conclude, that the Fathers were all Ignorants and Block-heads in comparison of the *Romish* Divines and Canonists, in leaving the decision of such Questions to them, which were as frequent in their times, as they could be since the thirteenth Century.

I say, thirdly, that they have not only by their Silence declared, that they knew nothing of any such Doctrine, but have also formally opposed the same in their Disputes. To this purpose I shall alledge two singular Proofs; the first is taken from the course *Tertullian* takes to expose and ridicule the Apotheoses in use amongst the *Romans*: *Apud vos*, saith he, *de humano arbitrato Divinitas pensatur, nisi homini Deus placuerit, Deus non erit, homo jam Deo propitius esse debebit.* He expresses himself to the same purpose, *Lib. 1. ad Nationes p. 55.* *Utique*, saith he, *impiissimum, imo contumeliosissimum admissum est in arbitrio & libidine sententiæ humanæ locare honorem divinitatis, ut Deus non sit, nisi qui permiserit Senatus.* I grant that these Expressions do directly respect the *Roman* Apotheoses,

oses, which he would never have blamed in such brisk Expressions, had he known that the Pope had received from Christ the power of Canonizing Saints. But we must also acknowledge, that these Expressions make it evident, that he knew nothing of the necessity of Intention to make the Eucharist a true Sacrament; for he might easily perceive that these Expressions might be return'd upon himself by the Heathens, who might have reproach'd him, that by the Doctrine of Intention, he had power to make his God, or not make him, to make the Eucharist to be adored, or to leave the Bread in the common condition which excludes all Adoration. The rest of the Fathers proceed on the same ground as *Tertullian*, and have, during the three first Ages of the Church, made use of the same reflections. The second proof is taken from the Opinion held by most of the Fathers, concerning the Nullity of Baptism conferred by Hereticks. In effect, if it be true, that the Intention of the Minister be required for the validity of the Sacrament, and that it is *That* doth make the Sacrament valid by whomsoever it may be administred; then *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Tertullian*, the Council of *Africa* held under *Agrippinus*, the Council of *St. Cyprian*, *Firmilianus Caesariensis*, were mistaken in rejecting the Baptism conferred by Hereticks as null and void: It cannot be denied, but that the Hereticks did confer Baptism with intention to do what Christ commands, and what the Church doth, and yet we see here one half of the World rejecting their Baptism as invalid, and the other half maintaining, as an Apostolical Tradition, That Baptism conferred, by whomsoever he be, is valid, supposing that he had the Intention of doing what the Church doth. In the mean-
time

time neither of both Parties do remember a common Maxim, which ought to be at the Front of their Rituals, as well as it is in the Front of the *Roman* Ritual. From whence proceeds this Behaviour of the Ancients ? Did they look upon the Intention of Hereticks to be insufficient ? Not at all : but they judged thus, because these Hereticks did corrupt the Faith, and the Form of Baptism could not pass with them for the Church of God, within which alone they believed the Sacraments could be administred.

I add, fourthly, that when the first Council of *Arles* assembled 314. and the Council of *Nice*, made distinction of the Hereticks, they considered nothing but the perfection of that Ceremony according to the Institution of our Saviour, determining that the Baptism conferred by the *Arrians* was valid, forasmuch as they did not corrupt or alter any thing in the Form prescribed by our Saviour, as may be seen in the Decret. of *Gratian* *Cap. de Arianis*. Indeed we can very distinctly prove, that after that the Fathers had submitted to the Authority of *Arles* and *Nice*, they express themselves in such a manner as makes it evident, that they knew nothing of this Necessity of Intention of the Minister. 1. They declare very distinctly, that they attribute nothing to the Minister but the outward act of plunging in the Water, and pronouncing the Sacramental Words, excluding this strange imagination as far as possibly they could, before ever it had entred the thought of any Divine. *St. Cyril* of *Jerusalem* expressly declares in his first Catechism to the Illuminated, that Regeneration is an effect of the Faith of him that is baptized, because the Spirit bloweth where it listeth, which

which would be very ridiculous, if Regeneration did depend on the Intention of the Priest: Yea, he seems to furnish us with an Argument to refute the notion of Cardinal *de Lugo*, who argues, because in Baptism men list themselves Souldiers under Jesus Christ, that the Priests Intention must needs intervene: for this Father maintains on the contrary, that it is Jesus Christ himself that in Baptism chuseth Souls; whence he takes occasion to exhort the new baptized carefully to avoid Hypocrisie, and declares, that as Jesus Christ doth not give holy things to Dogs, so also he impresseth the Seal of his Grace on those in whom he finds good resolutions for Godliness.

Optatus Milevitanus proving that Baptism conferred by Hereticks and Schismaticks is valid, makes use of these words, after he hath set down the Graces conferred in Baptism; *Unicuique non ejusdem rei operarius*, so he calls the Minister of Baptism, *sed credentes fides & Trinitas præstat*. And a little after he adds, *Docuimus cæleste munus unicuique credenti à Trinitate conferri, non ab homine*. Now what can be more improper than these Expressions, if God hath made his Grace to depend on the Intention of the Minister, by confining the validity of the Sacrament to his Intention. *St. Chrysostom Homil. 2. in 2. ad Timoth.* terms the Minister the Angel of God, because he pronounces the Words of God, who hath ordained him; and in the sequel answers an Objection, how we may be assured, that the Minister hath been ordained by God: Upon which he saith, *If thou hast not this Belief, thy Hope is made void; for if God works nothing by him, thou art not baptized, nor partakest of the Mysteries, nor of the Blessing,*

sing, and so art no Christian. What then, shall we say that all that are ordained, even the unworthy themselves, are ordained by God? God doth not ordain them all, answers he, yet he works by them all, notwithstanding they be unworthy of it, that the People may be saved; for if God spake by the She-ass, and by Balaam, who was a wicked man, for his People's sake, how much more by a Priest? For what is it that God does not? Or, who is it he doth not work upon? If he wrought by Judas, shall he not much rather work by the Priests? And adds afterwards, *Sacerdotis est tantum aperire os, totum vero operatur Deus*, &c. and continues the same strain throughout that Homily. He follows the same notion in his 85. Homily upon John; Whatsoever, saith he, the Priest hath received, is the alone Gift of God; and how far soever humane Philosophy may reach, it is still much beneath this Grace. And then adds, I do not only assert that the Priests, but that an Angel of God can do nothing in things that are given by God; 'tis the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit that order all things, for the Priest he only lends his Tongue and Hand. This is that which St. Chrysostome plainly declares; so far was he from owning that the Priests Intention was necessary to the validity of the Sacrament. He repeats the same Doctrine in his eighth Homily on the first Epistle to the *Corinthians* p. 80. where he maintains, that the Wickedness of the Priest cannot prejudice the Party baptized, or Communicant; which according to the Sentiment of the Church of Rome, is the greatest falsity imaginable, who believe that a Priest can deprive an Infant of Baptism, and make his Communicants to commit Idolatry, by his not having an Intention to consecrate. S. Je-
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rome evidently shews, that the Ministers have no other share in the Administration of the Sacraments, than what concerns the outward form of them, declaring that they do profane these Mysteries when they dare to consecrate, leading in the mean time a wicked life; *Comment. in Sophon. St. Austin* is exprefs on this Subject, *Lib. 7. cont. Donat. c. 53.* I should not at all doubt, saith he, their being baptized, who have received that Sacrament without dissimulation, and with some degree of Faith, in whatsoever place, or by whomsoever it may have been administred in the words of the Gospel. From whence it appears, that if he thinks any Intention necessary, it is that of the Party baptized, and not of the Minister. And accordingly *Vasquez Distinct. 138. n. 48.* finds this passage so opposite to his Opinion, that not knowing how to disintangle himself from it, he owns that *St. Augustin* was not yet acquainted with this truth of the Necessity of the Ministers Intention, the Councils having not as yet defined it. *Cardinal de Lugo* grants that *St. Augustin* doubted of several matters, which with them are put out of doubt by the Definition of their Councils; and that this Father hath done here what is so common with the Fathers, who in their Zeal against Heresie, do oft oppose truth. In his eagerness to prove the Baptism conferred by the Donatists to be valid, he doubts, saith he, whether the Baptism that is conferred in Play and Sport-wise be so. Behold here a great Crime of *St. Austins*, by which scantling we may judge of the Cardinal's Solution of this Objection. We may also gather the same truth from the notion *St. Austin* gives us of Baptism in his eightieth Homily on *St. John*, where he discourses thus upon these words; *Now ye are clean*

clean through the word which I have spoken unto you. Why doth he not say, ye are clean through the Baptism wherewith ye have been washed? But because the Word washeth by the Water: Take away the Word, and what is the Water, but Water? But when the Word is joyned with the Element, then it becomes a Sacrament, which is, as it were, a visible Word. Whence has the Water this great Virtue, that in touching the Body, it washes the Heart, if not from the Word? not because it is pronounced, but because it is believed. These words of his shew plainly, that he looks upon the Minister, as having no other Duty incumbent upon him, but to pronounce the words expressing the nature of the Sacrament, and attributes all their Efficacy to the Faith of those who receive the Sacraments, without any intervening Intention of the Minister, without which neither the words of the Minister, nor the Faith of him that is baptized, are of any effect.

We find a decision of Pope *Anastasius* in the Canon-Law, where he explains the Sentiments of the Church of *Rome*, as conformable to those of Primitive Antiquity. The Ministers, saith he, in administering good things, do only hurt themselves, but cannot defile the Sacraments of the Church, like the Rays of the Sun, which pass through the filthiest places without contracting the least Impurity; for it is not man, but God that works in the Sacraments. He proceeds to confirm this truth by a Reflection, 1. On the Example of the Scribes and Pharisees, who sat in the Chair of *Moses*, and whose Wickedness had no influence on the Word of Life, whereof they were the Dispensers. 2. Upon the Authority of *St. Paul*, who

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saith,

faith, that he who plants is nothing, nor he that watereth, but that it is God alone who gives the increase. *Epistol. ad Anast. Imperat. St. Isidore of Sevil Originum lib. 6. Cap. ult.* insists in the Footsteps of *St. Chrysostome* and *St. Austin*, asserting that it is the Holy Spirit that works all in the Sacraments; whence he concludes, that whether they be administred by good or bad Ministers, the Effect is always the same; which *Rome* is fain to deny because of their Doctrine of the Priests Intention. We find the same Doctrine in supposed *Ambrose* in his Treatise of the Sacraments, *lib. 4. c. 4. & 5.* where he attributes no other action to Priests, but that of reciting the Prayers by which the Consecration is performed; and for the rest, attributes all the force of the Sacrament to the powerful words of our Saviour.

Alcuinus builds on the same Principles; *There are, saith he, in the Sacrament three visible things, and three invisible; the visible are the Priest, the Body, and the Water; the invisible are the Holy Ghost, the Soul and Faith; the three visible things can do no good outwardly, if the three invisible things do not operate within. The Priest washes the Body with Water, and the Holy Ghost justifies the Soul by Faith. Paschasius Radbert.* accords with the foregoing Authors in his Treatise of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, *Cap. 12.* where he lays down several Maxims, all which overthrow the Necessity of Intention: The first is, That as much is received from a wicked, as from a good Priest, *intra Catholicam Ecclesiam, ubi Catholicâ fide hoc mysterium celebratur.* 2. That it is Jesus Christ that baptizeth, and that it is he that consecrates by
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the Holy Ghost. 3ly. He proves by the words of the Mass, *jube hæc perferri*, that it is in Virtue of the Priesthood of Jesus Christ; that the Consecration is performed. 4ly. He makes use of these remarkable Expressions; *unde Sacerdos non ex se dicit quod ipse Creator Corporis & Sanguinis esse possit, quia si hoc posset, quod absurdum est, Creator Creatoris fieret.* 5ly. He proves that the Priest only acts in his Ministry in the name of the Church, whose Vows and Prayers he offers up, to which the People answer, *Amen*, to shew that the Priest speaks in the name of the People, and not in his own. 6ly. He proves that all the Efficacy of the Sacrament is derived from the words of Christ, by whomsoever they may be recited; which he makes out by the Example of those, who, tho' they were wicked, yet cast out Devils in the Name of Jesus Christ. In which Quotation we may take notice of a thing very considerable; *Paschasius* had maintained, that it was Jesus Christ who creates the Flesh in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and declares the Opinion of those, who should be so rash to say, that the Flesh of Jesus Christ is created by the Priests, is ridiculous; wherein he follows the Opinion of *Cassiodorus*, who positively maintains that a Creature cannot create, *de Animâ Cap. 3.* *Gratian* reports this Opinion of *Paschasius*, as of *St. Austin*; but in process of time the Disciples of *Paschasius* grew more bold than their Master. There is a little Book in which the Schoolmen having put it to the question, Whether a simple Creature can create; one of the Parties maintains the Affirmative from the Example of a Priest, who creates the Flesh of

Stella Cleri-
corum & Biel
in Canon.
Missæ Leâ.

Jesus Christ in the Sacrament, they introduce a Priest, saying, that he creates Jesus Christ. The Expression is very considerable, and sufficiently shews the Doctrine of Intention, without which Jesus Christ could not create his Flesh, tho' he had a Will to do it. Forasmuch as *Paschasius* is one of those who hath altered the Belief of the Church, as to the Point of the Eucharist, we might well expect that he should have said something concerning the Intention of the Minister of the Sacraments; but the Inventions of the mind of man are not perfected all at once, there is time required to complete them, and he hath left that Glory to succeeding Schoolmen, who have highly refined his subtilty. Pope *Nicholas* the First, traces the same steps concerning a Baptism administered by a *Greek* Christian, whose Ministry was not certainly known, he troubles not himself about his secret Intention, but only whether he had pronounced the words required to the Sacrament. His Decision is set down by *Gratian*, *Dist. 2. cap. à quodam Judeo*, and he follows the Doctrine of Pope *Anastasius*.

Petrus Damianus in the Eleventh Century taught the same Doctrine so plainly, in Conformity to the Sentiments of St. *Austin* and *Paschasius*, that it is impossible to express the same more clearly; he repeats their Considerations, amplifies them, and joyns new ones to them in his Treatise entituled *Gratissimus*, cap. 10, 11, 12, 13. *Algerus* teacheth the same thing, quoting the Treatise of *Paschasius*, as St. *Austins*, lib. 1. c. 11. & lib. 3. c. 8. *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, did so little believe that the Intention of doing what the Church doth, is required

Tom. 9. Concil.
ult. edit.

Opusc. 6.
Tom. 3. p. 41.
& seq.

quired to make a true Sacrament, that he maintains, *Summ. Sent. Tract. 6. c. 7.* that Hereticks and excommunicated Persons cannot make a Sacrament; his Reason for it is very decisive, because, saith he, he that consecrates doth not say I offer, but we offer, speaking in the name of the whole Church. 'Tis true, that *Gratian* hath opposed this Doctrine of *St. Austin* in *Caus. 1. q. 1.* yet forasmuch as he quotes in his Decree the Book of *Paschasius* of the Body and Blood of Christ, under the name of *St. Austin*, he also cites from the 12. Chapter of that Book, most of the Maxims of that Father, which *Paschasius* had imitated, as we may see, *de Consecrat. Dist. 2. c. 72. & Causa 1. cap. 77.*

Lombardus follows the steps of *Gratian*, *lib. 4. Dist. 13.* he handles the Question whether wicked Ministers can diminish the Virtue of the Sacraments; and he alledges a great many Passages out of the Fathers, who discuss this Point; but neither he, nor those he alledges, shew themselves to have had any knowledge of this Opinion, that the Church made the Validity of the Sacraments to depend on the Minister; yea, he sets down a great many Maxims which make it apparent, that he was of a quite contrary Opinion, as well as the Fathers he quotes on this Occasion.

Cardinal *Pullus* at the same time wrote his Books, wherein we find the same Doctrine, p. 5. c. 15. where he lays down for a Maxim, that he who is baptized, cannot in any degree be prejudic'd by the Wickedness of him that baptizeth. To this Cardinal we may joyn another, viz. *Lotharius*, who was since Pope *Innocent III.* he gives a Rea-

De Myst. Mis-
sæ lib. 3.
cap. 5.

a Reason why the Priest in the Mass saith *offerimus*, tho' he alone offers; because, saith he, in that action he acts not in his own name, but in the name of the whole Church; from whence he draws this Conclusion: *Quapropter in Sacramento Corporis Christi, nihil à bono magis, nihil à malo minus perficitur Sacerdote, dummodo Sacerdos cum ceteris in archa consistat, & formam observet traditam à Columbâ; quia non in merito Sacerdotis, sed in Verbo Creatoris: non ergo Sacerdotis Iniquitas effectum impedit Sacramenti, sicut nec infirmitas Medici virtutem medicinae corrumpit. Quamvis igitur opus operans aliquando sit immundus, semper tamen opus operatum est mundum.* Nothing could be more expressly spoken to make out his Belief, that the Wickedness of a Priest cannot hurt the Communicants, than which nothing is more false, according to the Opinion of the Church of Rome at present. *Præpositivus* the Prince of Divines of his time, maintains that Hereticks may perform all the Sacraments, if they do but observe the form of the Church, and speaks not a word of the Necessity of Intention, no more than *Robert of Flaneshbourg*, Penitentiary of *Paris*, whose Treatises being yet in Manuscript, are quoted by *P. Morin*. These two Divines lived towards the end of the XII. Century.

De Ordin. p.
75, & 76.

The same Doctrine continued still in the XIII. Century, tho' it seems to have been somewhat tainted. *William of Auxerre*, who died in the Year 1223. doth no more require the Intention of the Minister, than of him who presents the Infant to be baptized, and thinks it sufficient if either of them have the Intention to perform, or receive

receive the Sacrament, tho' otherwise one of them may be an Unbeliever, and make a mock of it. *Albertus Magnus* Bishop of *Ratisbona*, who died in the Year 1280. upon the Question, Whether the word *Baptizo*, be essential to the Form of Baptism, answers affirmatively; his Reason is, that tho' the act of baptizing sufficiently expresses the thing without the Word, the Intention is more expressed in the Action, and in the Pronunciation of the word *Baptizo*; and that, saith he, because the Intention of the Person is not required, but rather the Intention of the Church, in whose name he doth baptize. Moreover, if we find *Thomas Aquinas* acknowledging, that there were some Divines in his time, who required the Mental Intention of the Minister of the Sacraments; if we see *Raymundus de Penna forti*, requiring the said Intention of the Minister, as essential to the Validity of the Sacrament, yet we see on the other side, that the greatest men that have written upon this Subject, give to this Intention which they require in the Minister, a sense which only serves to exclude the Ministers celebrating the Sacrament by way of mockery. What I here assert, may be seen in *William* Bishop of *Paris de Sacrament. Bapt. Cap. 2.* where he proves at large, that the Wickedness of the Minister cannot prejudice him that receives the Sacrament, because the Sacrament doth not depend on the Minister, who only acts in the name of the Church, and of Jesus Christ on this occasion. And 'tis on this ground that he decides the matter about the Order of re-ordaining those who have been degraded, the Intention of the Church in degrading them, being to deprive them

them of the Ministry which had been committed to them by the Church; much like an Attorney, who can no longer act validly, when his Letter of Attorney is revoked.

Alexander Hales is very expreſs on this Point, *p. 4. Summae. Tho. Aquinas* expreſſeth himſelf yet more precifely in *Summ. contra Gent. l. 4. c. 77. & 3. p. q. 64. Art. 8. ad 2.* where having repreſented the Opinion of the Church of *Rome* at this day, which he only attributes to ſome Divines of his time, he ſaith, that the other party are more in the right, who maintain, that the Miniſter of the Church acts in the name of the whole Church, that in the words he utters, he expreſſeth the Intention of the Church, which is ſufficient for the Perfection of the Sacrament, except the contrary be expreſſed outwardly by the Miniſter, or by him who receives the Sacrament. He repeats the ſame thing in *4. Sentent. Diſtinct. 6. q. 1. Art. 2.* True it is, that Cardinal *Cajetan* hath endeavoured to obſcure this Text of *Thomas Aquinas*; but *Salmeron* obſerves, *lib. 2. Diſp. 2. in Epist. Pauli*, that theſe words being clearer than the day, *Cajetan* hath been juſtly cenſur'd by the *Roman* Catholicks themſelves, for putting another ſenſe upon him, rather than ſubmitting to Truth. The ſame *Salmeron* alſo obſerves in the ſame place, that *St. Bonaventure* was altogether of the ſame Opinion as *Thomas Aquinas*: He lays down in *4. Diſt. 3. Art. 2. q. 2.* that according to the Hypotheſes of *St. Auſtin*, Baptiſm being the Sacrament of Faith, which is common to all the Church, the Faith of the Miniſter can neither hurt, nor help him who is baptized; whence he concludes, that
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whatsoever may be the Intention of him that baptizeth, we are judge of the Baptism it self, by the Expressions of his Mouth. 2. He asserts, *p. 4. Dist. 10. Art. 2. q. 4.* that it is false, that the Virtue of the words of Jesus Christ can consecrate all the Bread that is in a Market, for that the Minister makes use of them against the Intention of the Church, and contrary to the Institution of our Saviour, wherein he exactly follows *Alexander Hales*, who was of his Order. These Doctors are followed by *Alanus*, surnamed *the Great*, who died in 1290. after having been a long time Regent at *Paris*. We find his Doctrine, *Cap. 13. contra Valdenses*, where he proves, that the Prayer of a wicked Priest cannot prejudice the Church, because he expresseth himself in the name of the Church, when he saith, *Oremus*, &c. that the terms of the Prayer he utters, depend on the Intention of the Church. He makes the same Judgment of the Mass said by a wicked Priest, without taking any notice of his Intention.

In the following Age we find that the greatest men followed the Opinion which *Thomas Aquinas* has prefer'd; this appears, because we read in Cardinal *Aureolus* in *4. Dist. 5. q. 1. Art. 1.* "I say, in the sixth place, saith the Cardinal, in the Explication of his Definition of Baptism, that he must have the Intention of doing what the Church doth; for it is not required of him that he have Faith, or that he believe that Baptism is profitable to the Party baptized; but it sufficeth, if he have an Intention to do what the Church doth: But I add, or if he be presumed not to have the Intention to do what the Church
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"doth. I speak this chiefly because supposing the
 "Minister hath not the Intention which the Church
 "hath, but in the mean while utters the words,
 "without making it appear outwardly that he
 "hath another Intention than the Church; some
 "say, that in this case he doth not baptize, and
 "that one so baptized, ought to be rebaptized;
 "but for my part, I think the contrary ought to
 "be maintained, because otherwise the Church
 "would be imposed upon, and deceived, &c. And
 that which is pleasant on this point is, that after
 having taken notice, that the Opinion which he op-
 poseth, is only the Sentiment of some, he refutes it by
 the Example of Marriage, which is accounted va-
 lid as soon as the Form of words is pronounced,
 which is the very instance Cardinal *de Lugo* al-
 ledged amongst his Principles, after *Durandus*, to
 confirm the Necessity of inward Intention, with-
 out which, the Marriage could not subsist.

I am well enough acquainted, that the force of
 these Reasons were not able to persuade the con-
 trary Party, of which we have a Proof in *Duran-*
dus, who maintains mental Intention to be neces-
 sary, and that with might and main. However,
 we may take notice, that these Reasons cast them
 into an Extream, which clearly shews, that they
 and Truth were parted. 1. *Durand* lays down,
 that we are always to suppose the Priest to have
 Intention, when he pronounceth the words of the
 Sacrament; which is a supposition without the least
 Proof or Ground, especially when we know of
 Popes and Priests that hath been Atheists, and Ma-
 gicians, and others who have declared at their
 Death, that they had been always *Jews*. *Balzac*
 relates

relates a notable Example of this kind, of a *Spanish* Priest, and we may guess that these instances are not so very rare, if we consult *Grillandus*, *Farinacius*, and *Delrio*, about this matter. 2. He pretends that those at age, would not run any risque of their Salvation, for that as long as they have Faith, God will assuredly save them, notwithstanding that against their Wills they have been deprived of Baptism. But then if we consider, that without Baptism, and its Character which is not imprest without Baptism, there is no means left, according to the Opinion of *Rome*, to become a Priest, Bishop, or Pope, will there not continually remain an Ocean of Doubts, Uncertainties, and Nullities, which necessarily follow from a Baptism conferred without Intention, and which is really null and void? 3. He pretends, that as to an Infant, who hath no Faith, we ought piously to believe that Jesus Christ supplies what a wicked Minister may have omitted. *Franciscus de Mayronis* doth much alike resolve the matter into the same pious Hope that God supplies the Ministers defect; in which Opinion he has for his Companion *Petrus de Palude*. But besides that this last cited Author clearly resolves the Reasons brought to confirm the Necessity of the secret Intention of the Minister of the Sacraments; besides that, he witnesseth that those who oppos'd this Necessity, did alledge against the same, the Authority of *Thomas Aquinas*, and that he declares he embraced the Opinion of this Necessity, only because it seemed to him an Opinion which was both more sure, and more common; this Hope that God supplies the Ministers

In 4. Dist. 4.

q. 3.

In 4. Dist. 6.

q. 2.

Default, hath been refuted before them by *Thomas Aquinas*, 3. p. q. 64. Art. 1. ad 2. and after them, hath with scorn been rejected by *Adrian* the VIth. Pope of that name, in 4. *Quest.* 1. Art. 4. de *Intent. Minist.* But further, 1st. What Ground is there for this pious Belief? 2^{ly}. Do not the same Difficulties still return, forasmuch as the Character cannot be imprinted but by Baptism actually received? And therefore *Gulielmus à Rubione*, who liv'd in *Spain* in great fame and repute, finds it a hard thing to maintain, that the Intention of the Minister is to that degree necessary in Baptism and other Sacraments, that without it we cannot be made Partakers of the same. He considers the Consequences of this Opinion, as being very difficult and cruel; and he shews that it was impossible for him to digest them, in 4. *Distinct.* 5. q. 1. *Thomas* of *Strasbourg*, Prior General of the *Austin* Fryers, who flourished about the midst of that Century, declares distinctly, upon occasion of an Objection he had made to himself, that the Intention of a man is not known to any but God. I say, he declares that the Intention being sometimes hid in the Heart, and sometimes appearing externally by Marks and Expressions, the latter is sufficient for the Validity of the Sacrament, in 4. *Dist.* 5. q. 1. *Marsilius ab Ingen.* follows near upon his steps in 4. q. 3. Art. 2. for he saith, that we are to judge of the Intention required, by that of it which appears outwardly; adding, that if the Minister should chance to have a contrary Intention, that would not prejudice the baptized party, because it ought to be believed, that God would notwithstanding communicate to him

him the Baptism of the Holy Ghost, which at the bottom is nothing else but a plain overthrowing of the Necessity of the Ministers Intention, or a miserable contradicting of ones self.

In the fifteenth Age we find the same Doctrine also defended by the most famous men; this appears from the Sentiment of *John Lyndwood* in his Provincial. *lib. 3. tit. 23.* on the Chap. *Lin-teamina*; for tho' he say, that the Intention is always necessary, either special or General, yet withal, he believes that not only the Intention of him who consecrates is required, but also the Intention of him who has instituted the Sacrament; whence he concludes, that if a Priest should in the midst of a Market, pronounce the Sacramental Words, tho' with intention to consecrate, there would be no Transubstantiation, not by any defect of Virtue in the words, but because of the defect of the Intention of him who hath instituted this Sacrament, whose design is not, that Consecration should be performed in such a way of Mockery and Folly, but for the Profit and Need of the Church general or particular, according to *Tho. Aquinas de Verit. lib. 6.* 'Tis true, he owns that some Divines were of another mind, maintaining that a Priest might consecrate all the Bread in a Market-place, yea, though he did not design it for the use of man, but for some Magical use, or only to mock and deride the Sacrament. But *Lyndwood* refutes this Opinion, because he hath not an Intention to do what the Church doth, and declares that herein he follows the Doctrine of *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, which I have set down before.

Capreolus is very exprefs on this Question, in 4. *Dist.* 1. q. 1. where he represents that the words of Baptism do fufficiently determine the Sense of the action of Baptism. *Thomas Waldensis* exactly follows the Doctrine of *Alger*, which we have before fet down, Tom. 3. cap. 28. *Angelus de Clarisso* maintains the same Hypothesis in his *Summa Angelic.* voce *Baptismus* n. 5. §. 7. and declares that herein he follows the mind of Pope *Innocent III.* Cap. 1. de *Baptism.* where he makes use of the very words of Cardinal *Aurcolus* on this Subject.

Lastly, we may say that this Opinion hath not been given over in the XVI. Age neither, notwithstanding that the contrary Sentiment made so great a Progress, having carried it in the Council of *Trent*, in hatred and opposition to *Luther*, who opposed it. To make out this, we need only read what *Sylvester Prieras* writes in his *Summ.* voce *Baptismus*, Cap. 3. n. 12. where we find him preferring the Opinion of *Thomas Aquinas* to that which he had propounded, and he confirms it by the Authority of St. *Bonaventure* and Cardinal *Aureolus*, and holds with it, as being the more rational. *Bundier*, a Divine of the Order of the *Jacobites*, shews that he was of the same mind in his Book entituled *Compendium Dissidii*, published at *Paris* in 1540. with Approbation and Privilege, Tit. 11. Art. 7. *Conradus Clingius* a famous Franciscan Divine of *Erfurt*, teaches, that in every Sacrament there are two things, the one whereof is done by God, the other by the Minister, that it is Jesus Christ who baptizeth in the Sacrament of Baptism, and consecrates in that of the Eucharist.

rist. He terms the one *Opus operans*, the other *Opus operatum*, allotting nothing to the Minister; but the outward action of applying the Water to the party baptized. Whence he concludes at the end of the fifth Chapter, That the Protestants and Church of *Rome* are near agreed on that point. *Consserd*, a Divine of *Paris*, seems to be of the same Opinion in his Book against the *Valdenses*, p. 59. *Vignier* follows, in a manner, the same Doctrine in his Institutions of Divinity according to the Doctrine of *St. Thomas*, cap. 16. de *Sacrament. in Communi. ver. 6.* which he published in 1565. I have already given an account of the Sentiment of *Catharin* Bishop of *Minori*, as it is set down by Father *Paul*, and extracted from the Book which he caused to be printed during the Session of the Council of *Trent*; he expresses himself so conformable to the Doctrine of the Protestants, that *Scribonius* can find no difference between them, except only that *Catharin* at the end of his Treatise submits his Judgment to the Authority of the Church and its Councils, which the Protestants refuse.

A while after the Council of *Trent*, we find that the Reasons of *Catharin*, and other Divines that preceded him, had made so deep an Impression on the Spirits of men, that *Salmeron*, tho' a great Divine of the Pope's in the Council of *Trent*, yet wrote in favour of this Opinion, and maintains, that without ruining all the certainty we ought to have concerning the Article of the Church, which we are bound to believe, we cannot frame to our selves any other Belief. He opposeth the contrary Doctrine, *lib. 1. Disp. in Epist.*

Epist. Disp. 2, by so many Texts of Holy Scripture, and Testimonies of the ancient Doctors, that it is hard to conceive how any one could be so Foolhardy as to contradict him. And he is followed herein by *Scribonius* a famous *Parisian* Divine, who hath exhausted that matter, and superadded many new Arguments to those of *Salmeron* and *Catharin*.

But forasmuch as my Design is not to carry on the History of this Question any farther, and that my business only is to make it appear, that the Church of *Rome* hath neither Scripture, nor Tradition to favour this her Opinion; it will be time now to pass to the other means, whereby the Novelty of this Conceit doth appear, *viz.* by making out, that none of the Churches that are separate from the *Roman* Communion, teaches or believes concerning this point, as she does.

1st. We know that as far as the Churches separated from the *Roman* Communion, are from permitting the Administration of the Sacraments to Lay-men or Pagans, so far are they from this Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, *viz.* That it is no matter who is the Minister, provided only he have the Intention of doing what the Church doth. The Church of *Rome* at present holds in opposition to that of old, that it were better to go to a Heretick for Baptism, than to be deprived of it, as may be seen in the Canon *Præter Disp. 32*. But the Body of the *Greek* Church rejects this Maxim as absurd, and rebaptizeth those that have been baptized by any others besides the Ministers of that Sacrament. This is testified by *John Faber* concerning the *Moscovites*, who do not differ from the *Greek* Church.

2. Where-

2. Whereas the *Roman* Church hath wholly changed the notion of the Sacraments and their Definition, in making their Validity to depend on the Intention of the Minister, we find the *Greeks* religiously retaining the Notions and Definition of St. *John Damascene*, which we find in the Writings of *Jeremy* against the Divines of *Wittemberg*, and in the Confession of Faith writ by *Metrophanes Critopulus*. Not but that the Church of *Rome* hath endeavoured to bring them over to her Belief some Ages since; to which purpose they a great while ago caused the greatest part of the Theological Summs of *Thomas Aquinas*, and his four Books against the *Gentiles*, to be made known to them; and from thence the *Greeks* have borrowed the Gibberish of the Schoolmen, which for a dozen Ages was unknown in the Church concerning the matter and form of the Sacraments. But if on the one hand *Thomas Aquinas* takes notice of the strange conceit of some Divines of the *Latin* Church, about the matter of the Intention of the Minister; so on the other hand, he defends the more sober Opinion about this Question in such a manner, as that to those who have some Notion of this matter, his Writings will be found opposite to, rather than favouring these their new Opinions. And accordingly we find *Manuel Calocas* a *Jacobite*, who wrote in *Greek* the Articles of the Faith at the end of the thirteenth Century, plainly follows the meaning and sense of *Thomas Aquinas* on this point, alledging a passage of St. *Chrysostom*, Homil. 83. in *Matth.* & Hom. 8. in *1 ad Cor.* *Stat Sacerdos solam formam implens, at vis omnis verborum est.* Tom. 2. Noviss. Auct. B. p. p. 257.

3ly. This Question of the Nature and Intention required in the Minister of the Sacraments, which hath made such a noise in the Church of *Rome* for these five hundred years, is not so much as known to the *Greeks*. If we read the Writings, I don't say of the pretended *Dionysius* the *Areopagite*, for whom the *Greeks* have had a great Veneration for near a thousand years, and whom they have often illustrated with their Commentaries; but the Works of more modern Authors, as of one *Germanus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, of one *Cabasilas* and divers others, who have handled the matter of the Sacraments, we shall not find in them the least hint of these Distinctions so necessary to appease the Conscience of those who receive the Sacraments, and who without having some knowledge of this point, cannot chuse but be troubled with an infinity of scruples and difficulties.

4ly. We are to observe, that the *Greeks* have carried the matter so far concerning this point, that they not only disown the pretended Character of Priesthood, but make it, to depend on the good Life and lawful Call of the Minister. They maintain that as soon as a Priest has lost his Character, which he doth by such Crimes as merit Degradation, he can neither baptize nor consecrate so as either shall be valid. I don't here examine the Question of right, but only that of fact, which is so constant, that *Caryophyllus* Archbishop of *Iconium* imputes it as a great crime to *Zacharias Gergani*, from whose Catechism he extracts this Proposition under the Title of 62. *Blasphemies, viz.* if the Priest be a notorious Sinner he cannot consecrate, and that which he performs is
not

not the Sacrament of the Eucharist; but if he be not a notorious Sinner, that a Priest, tho' he be a Sinner, can consecrate. Let this Maxime be compared with that of the Schoolmen and *Romish* Catechists, and we shall find, that of the latter as opposite as the Night is to the Day, and all by reason of this Intention, which the others were altogether ignorant of.

5ly. The terrible difference there is between the *Greek* Church and the *Latin*, about the Form of the Sacraments, properly so called, deserves some reflection. The *Greeks* believe with the ancient Church, that the Prayers are properly the Form of Consecration in the Eucharist, as well as in the other Sacraments. The *Latins*, on the contrary, do believe that the Forms of the Sacraments, are in Baptism the words, *Ego baptizo te in Nomine*, &c. and in the Eucharist, *Hoc enim est Corpus meum*. This laid down, it naturally follows, that the *Greeks*, according to their Hypothesis, ought to recommend Intention, with respect to the greatest part of their Liturgy; whence comes it then, that they have not done it? Moreover, the *Greeks* express the words of Baptism in such a manner, that they seem to leave nothing but the outward action to the Minister, *Baptizatur servus Christi in nomine Patris, & Filii, &c.* *Morinus* asserts, that they do not express the person of the Minister in any of the other Sacraments, and proves the same at large. Whereas Pope *Alexander III.* and the Schoolmen are so ill satisfied with this Expression of the *Greeks*, that they pronounce the Baptism invalid, when a Priest only saith, in the Name of the Father, Son, and

Bessario. Cardin. super Euchar. init.

Arcud. de Sacram. p. 316.

De Ordinatio. p. 228.

Lib 3. Decret. tit. 42. c. 1. Armach. contra err. Armen. l. 8. c. 8.

Holy Ghost, without expressing the person or action of the Minister, ordering them to make use of these words, *Ego baptizo te*, or *baptizo te in Nomine Patris*, &c. From whence can this notion of the Greeks have its rise, but from this, that they consider the Minister only as an outward Agent, whose Intention is not at all material in the case? And from whence comes the niceness of the Schools, but because they consider'd the Intention of the Minister as an essential part towards the Validity of the Sacrament.

It is apparent, that the case is no other than we have represented it, because the Missionaries, whom the Church of *Rome* sends abroad to draw to her Communion the Churches of the East, make a general Law of it to instruct them concerning the Necessity of the Ministers Intention, in order to the Validity of the Sacraments. This we see in *Thomas à Jesu*, lib. 7. de *Conversione omni*, Cap. 3, & 4. We find also amongst some Propositions extracted out of the Books of the *Maronites*, that they formally rejected the Intention of the Minister: The Proposition is this, *Intentio Ministri non requiritur necessariò*. *Thom. à Jesu ibid.* Cap. 6. We see by the relation of Father *Thomas Maria Zampi* Missionary in *Georgia*, *Mingrelia* and *Colchis*, which make a part of the *Greek Church*, that they know nothing of the Intention of the Minister, which yet the Church of *Rome* looks upon as no less essential than the matter and form of the Sacrament. And last of all, we need only read what the famous *Augustinus Govea* hath writ concerning the Faith of the Christians of *St. Thomas*, that they did not so much as know what
this

this essential part of the Sacrament meant. The Synod of *Diamper* held by *Alexis de Menezes* Archbishop of *Goa*, took care to instruct them in the same in the fourth Action at the beginning.

What I have now represented concerning the difference that is between the *Romanists* and other Christians, is sufficient to lay open the falsity of the Definition of the Council of *Trent*; for it appears very evidently; 1st. That the same is not founded on the Holy Scripture. 2^{ly}. That it is not founded on any ancient Tradition peculiar to the Church of *Rome*. 3^{ly}. That it hath never been the general Belief of her most famous Divines. 4^{ly}. That it is not the Faith of those other Christians that are separate from her Communion. But to afford a further light yet to this matter, I will add to this Discourse some Considerations which will enable us to conceive in what manner the Council of *Trent* hath handled matters of Religion, and what regard we ought to have to her Definitions.

The first concerns the boldness wherewith she has defined that Question, thundering out her *Anathema's* against those who for the time to come should dare to oppose the Belief of the Necessity of the Ministers Intention. Indeed their Behaviour in this matter is very strange; they were not ignorant of the great Disputes that were between their own Divines about this matter, they were acquainted with the different kinds of Intention of which their Divines had spoken, for to put a good meaning upon the Definition of the Council of *Constance*, as well as upon that of *Engenius* the IV. It was therefore their Duty to explain

explain these matters very distinctly, if they had a mind to condemn or ratifie any of those Opinions. They do nothing of all this, and it is enough for them to pronounce their *Anathema's* against those who shall deny, that the Intention to do what the Church doth, is necessarily required in the Minister of the Sacrament for its Validity. So that if this *Anathema* of theirs be of any use at all, it must be only to declare their absolute Authority, or else that Reason had nothing to do in their Assembly. For otherwise why should they not have clearly determin'd wherein they make that Intention to consist, whether it be an Intention actual, virtual, or habitual, that is required? Or an Intention direct or indirect, according as the Divines of their Communion express themselves? Whether it be an Intention absolute or reductive, general or particular. And yet after this their Negligence, they have the face to thunder out their *Anathema's*, as if it were a matter most clearly explained and understood; can we imagine a more scandalous use of their Authority? To say the truth, these good Fathers did not trouble themselves to explain their meanings. *Ceteri homines*, said the Ambassador of France, writing to the Chancellour of the Hospital, *loquuntur ut intelligi possint, isti nihil minus volunt quam ut intelligantur*. They affected obscurity, and were willing only to shew the Protestants, that they were not in the mind to reform any thing. This made them so liberal of their *Anathema's*, and to canonize gross Errors newly come from under the Anvil of the Schoolmen, Errors that were scarcely finished, and but half polished.

The

Instru&. for
the Council
of Trent by
M. du Pui.

The second Consideration respects the Birth of this Error; 1st. We may justly imagine that it entred the Church of *Rome* at a time when the Priests were so ignorant of the *Latin* Tongue, that they scarce could read it, without making them laugh that heard them; it was in these barbarous times, when most of the Priests did not understand what they said, much less were able to excite any Devotion by the words they utter'd, either in themselves or the People, who did not understand *Latin*, that such Questions as these had their rise, and are so seriously handled by the Schoolmen, *viz.* Whether a Priest who corrupts the Sacramental Words in pronouncing them, doth celebrate a Sacrament? Whether a Woman who baptizeth an Infant in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, and of the Blessed Virgin, doth truly baptize? of which you may see the scientifick Definitions of the Schoolmen. The first thing that offers it self to the mind about these Questions, is, That this person doth, notwithstanding, perform a Sacrament; for how ignorant soever he may be, and tho' he doth not understand any thing of what he saith, yet for all this he ceaseth not to have the Intention of doing what the Church doth. This was the ground of Pope *Zachary* in his Answer to *Boniface*, about the Ignorance of a Priest in *Bavaria*, who had baptized in *Nomine Patria, Filia, & Spiritua Sancta*: which ground of his was notwithstanding disapproved by a Doctor of Divinity, of whom *St. Vincent* of *Valentia* speaks, who was rebaptized, because once as he came out of the Pulpit from preaching, a Woman said to him, Blessed

Clemang. de
corrupt. Ec-
cles. Stat. c 6.
& 16.

Avent. Annal.
B.

Conc. 2. Dom.
3. Quadrages.

fed

sed be the day wherein I baptized thee in the Name of the Holy Trinity, of the Virgin *Mary*, and all the Angels, as supposing that this alteration of the Form did destroy the Nature of the Sacrament.

We may also probably conjecture; that this foolish Opinion owes its rise to a time wherein the Corruption was so ordinary, and the Profanation so publick, that they celebrated Mass the day of the Feast of Fools, with Actions and Gestures more proper to raise laughter, than to excite any respect for the Sacrament. We read with a just Horror, the manner of this publick and solemn Profanation set down by *Odo* Bishop of *Paris* in 1198. We find the same exactly described by the *Parisian* Faculty of Divinity in 1444. who endeavour'd to abolish the same. The Priests assisted at it, disguised in the Garb of Dancers, of Women, and of Bawds, they danced in the Quire, they sung filthy Songs, they eat near to him that celebrated, they plaid at Dice on the Altar, they incens'd with the Smoke of old Shoes laid on the Coals. It was natural to imagine, concerning this publick, and authorized Profanation, which was carried so high, that the Faculty of *Paris* was obliged to define, that those who oppos'd themselves to the Abolition of this Feast, were not Excommunicated; I say it was natural to imagine, that for to make such a Sacrament valid, respect was to be had to the Intention of him that celebrated it.

But besides this Reflection, it may be said, that this Doctrine of the Necessity of Intention owes its rise to the absolute necessity of Baptism. This Opinion

Not. ad Petr.
Blesens. p.
778.
Ibid. p. 782.
& seq.

Conclus. 12.
p. 787.

Opinion hath made the Church of *Rome* in these latter days maintain, on a ridiculous foundation, that a Heathen or a *Jew* may validly administer that Sacrament in case of necessity; I say that this was on a ridiculous foundation. The Schoolmen have imagin'd, that Pope *Nicholas* the First, had so defined, tho' indeed there be nothing more false. This Pope being consulted by the *Bulgarians*, whether the Baptism administ-^{ed} by a *Greek* Christian, who professed himself a Priest, tho' they were not certainly assured thereof, were to be accounted good and valid: The Pope answered that it was good, and blamed them for having maimed that Priest after a barbarous manner, who by a laudable Zeal had converted many of them to the Faith, and had baptized them. *Gratian*, or some other Transcriber, read this Answer of Pope *Nicholas* I. wrong, as appears from the Extract of it cited in the Decree of *Gratian*, where instead of *à quodam Viro*, we read *à quodam Judeo*; and this mistake made the Divines of the *Romish* School to establish this Theological Maxim, that a Heathen or *Jew* might baptize in case of necessity; which is an Hypothesis quite contrary to the Definition of Pope *Gregory* II. in an answer to *Boniface* in these terms, *Baptizentur à Paganis baptizati*; an Hypothesis directly contrary to the Doctrine of the Ninth Century at the time of *Nicholas* I. as may be seen in Chap. 91. of the sixth Book of *Capitul.* where it is ordained, that a Priest that hath not been baptized, shall be baptized and ordained a-new, as well as those whom he hath baptized. After this unhappy mistake, they have committed another; it was requisite at least,

that so extraordinary a Minister of the Sacrament, should have the Intention of doing what the Church doth; the most ancient, as *Lombard*, only understood it concerning the outward part of Baptism, as I have shewed, and as Pope *Nicholas* I. had explained it: but we can say, that since the Doctrine of Transubstantiation entred into the *Roman* Church, and her Divines began to dispute about the sense in which the words of Consecration are pronounced by the Priest; some of them maintaining that they were operative, others again, that they were only significative and historical; this Doctrine, which as yet was only rough drawn, received its Perfection. Indeed after the mind of man hath once been able to digest so great an Absurdity, as the change of the Substance of the Bread and Wine into the Substance of the Body and Blood of our Saviour by virtue of the Sacramental words pronounced by a Priest, it is very fairly disposed to believe that this virtue of creating the Body of Jesus Christ (for so the Schoolmen express themselves) must at least depend on some act of his Will. However it be, thus much is certain, that the Questions about the Priests Intention were never heard of, till after the Birth of this Doctrine; and it is only upon this new Hypothesis, that such Questions as these have been resolved in the affirmative, *viz.* Whether the casting of a Child into a River, and pronouncing over him, with Intention of baptizing him, the words, *I baptize thee, &c.* be a valid Baptism? Whether a Priest passing through a Market-place, and pronouncing over all the Bread that is there, these words, *This is my body*, with design to consecrate,

secrate, would really consecrate all the Bread in the Market? Questions heretofore altogether unheard of, and which the ancient Schoolmen had decided negatively, the thought only of these Consequences inspiring them with Fear and Horror.

We must naturally make a third Reflection on the occasion that hath facilitated the Entrance of so extravagant an Error into the Church of *Rome*. A Party of the *Roman* Church have maintained long since, that the Sacraments produce Grace, and contain the same, as Vessels contain the Liquor that is in them; an Opinion which seems to give a great Honour to the Sacraments, but at the same time also advanceth the Interest of the Ministers; and the Doctrine of the Necessity of Intention comes to support this Interest; for it makes the Priests so much the Masters of Grace, that without them Grace cannot reach those who present themselves to receive the Sacrament. It was a piece of weakness in *Catharin*, that he thought to move the Fathers of *Trent* by representing to them the anguishing Grief of a Father, who should happen to doubt whether his Child were really baptized, there being no human means left for him to get rid of it; this was the very thing the Fathers desired, they had a mind to confirm the Empire of the Priests over the Conscience, and nothing is more efficacious to subject it without reserve, than this notion of the Necessity of Intention. What will not a man do to obtain the Favour of a man who can, when he pleases, suspend the Grace of God, and absolutely hinder its effect? Who can leave our Children in the state

of Heathens Children? Who can give us nothing but meer Water instead of a Sacrament? And who can give us nothing but Bread and Wine, instead of the substance of the Body and Blood of our Saviour? Let us examine a little whether the Politicians who have employed means and Opinions capable to make People entirely subject to them, have ever carried things as far as this. In effect we find that never was a greater Slavery and Bondage than that to which the *Romish* Priests, and all that Clergy have reduc'd the People of their Communion, by means of this new discovery of the Necessity of Intention for the Validity of the Sacraments.

I shall conclude with this last Reflection, to let us see how fatal it is to engage our selves in false Principles, notwithstanding they may seem very advantageous to our Interests. Truths are always found in perfect Union, but Lyes discover themselves presently. This is that which the Church of *Rome* hath proved to her cost; she has endeavour'd with much Application, to establish the Empire of her Ministers over their People, and to subjugate them with all her Power: she has found that the uncertainties arising from the Belief that the Intention of the Minister is necessary, did much favour her design, and thereupon has defin'd that Necessity. Behold here a great stroke given to establish her Grandeur. But what has been the fruit of this Definition? even the most terrible inconvenience to that Church, which she could possibly have feared from her most mortal Enemies, and the most deadly Consequence that can possibly be drawn: *Salmeron* a famous Jesuit terms

terms it a Scruple, in his second Dispute of his first Book on the Epistles of St. Paul; I'll leave the judicious Reader to judge, whether it ought to pass for a Scruple, or a solid Difficulty. He discourses there, whether we can assuredly know the Catholick Church, forasmuch as there is no Salvation to be had without it; and that she alone has the Authority of infallibly guiding People in the ways of Salvation: if we do not know her but by such means as may leave us liable to deceit and mistake; if we do not know her by virtue of a Divine Revelation, its manifest we may be deceived: now God hath not revealed, that the present Pope, who is look'd upon as Head of the Church, is a true Pope; nor that any of the Priests or Bishops of the *Roman* Church, are lawful Priests or Bishops. These are things we are not assured of but by Conjectures, which have nothing common with the Certainty of Faith. It may be unlawful means may have been employ'd in the Election of Popes or Bishops, which make it null and void. This difficulty is very perplexing, and *Salmeron* solves it as well as he can. But see here the most intricate knot of all, and I scarce know whether any be able to loose it; the Doctrine of the Necessity of Intention, leaves all things uncertain in this matter, for according to this Hypothesis, no man being able to know whether he be baptized, neither can he assure himself that the Pope has, and consequently whether he can be a Priest, whether he can be Head of the Church, whether he can discharge the Functions thereof, whether he can define the Articles of Faith, whether he can make Laws for Manners, whether he

he can canonize Saints. It cannot be known whether a man be a Christian, whether he be a Priest, whether the Mass he celebrates be true, whether the Absolution he gives be valid; in a word, nothing can be certainly known that depends upon a hidden Intention, which is only known to God, and can alone be assured by him. All this depends not only upon a fact that is obscure and uncertain, but also upon so prodigious a multitude of facts, many Ages since, that without a very express Revelation, it is impossible to be assured, whether there be ever a lawful Minister, or true Christian. *Salmeron* having perceived this difficulty, which overthrows all possibility of coming to an assured knowledge of the Church, how doth he solve it? even by giving to the Council of *Trent* a meaning altogether contrary to the intent of that Assembly; for finding that he could no otherwise save himself from this Difficulty, he maintains, that the Intention required of the Minister, is express and certain enough by the words he utters in celebrating the Sacraments. We may boldly require all the Disputers of the *Romish* Church, to consider a little of this matter, and to find out a better Remedy for this Evil, than that which *Salmeron* has made use of; 'tis a thing worthy of their subtilty. But this Remedy can never be met with, without renouncing the Doctrine of Intention. As for our parts, it will be hard for us to fall into the like mistake, as long as we follow the light of the Holy Scripture, and tread in the Footsteps of Antiquity, which is our express and solemn Profession.

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ERRATA.

PAGE 1. 1. 12. for the opinion, read *this opinion*. p. 2. 1. 1. r. of the Christian, &c.
1. 92. r. *Vincentius Liripensis*.

